DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 471 131 CE 084 222

AUTHOR	Schurer, K.
TITLE	Work and Leaving Home: The Experience of England and Wales, 1850-1920. Working Paper.
SPONS AGENCY	Economic and Social Research Council, Lancaster (England).
REPORT NO	ESRC-WP-12
PUB DATE	2000-00-00
NOTE	46p.; Supported under the 'Future of Work' research programme.
CONTRACT	L212252004
AVAILABLE FROM	For full text: http://www.leeds.ac.uk/esrcfutureofwork/downloads/workingpaperdownloads/paper12.pdf. For full text (charts): http://www.leeds.ac.uk/esrcfutureofwork/downloads/workingpaperdownloads/paper12charts.pdf.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research (143)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adolescents; Biographies; Cohort Analysis; Demography; *Employment Patterns; *Entry Workers; Family Structure; Farm Occupations; Females; Foreign Countries; History; Household Workers; Industrialization; Industry; Labor Market; *Life Events; Longitudinal Studies; Males; Marriage; Models; Occupational Mobility; Parents; *Place of Residence; Primary Sources; Professional Occupations; Research Reports; Rural Urban Differences; Rural Youth; Secondary Education; Sex Differences; *Social History; Social Status; Trend Analysis; Urbanization
IDENTIFIERS	*England; *Wales

ABSTRACT

Data from the 1811 and 1851 census in England and Wales as well as other data from those countries in 1891 and 1921 were analyzed to investigate individuals' timing and extent of departure from the parental home. The authors found the following: (1) there was a gradual increase in the ages at which children left the parental home; (2) the pace of departure became more rapid over the entire period studied for males, although for females, the pace was increased in the twentieth century; (3) there was a decline in non-familial residence; and (4) there was a rise, especially in the twentieth century, in post-marriage co-residence with parents. The trends were attributed to a general decline in farm employment and domestic service (where employees had traditionally been given room and board) and the subsequent rise in urbanization and industrialization. The period from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century increasingly witnessed a divergence between the experience of leaving the parental home and entry into the labor market. The author suggested further research on the changing patterns of the timing of entry into the workplace. (Contains 17 tables and 73 references.) (AJ)

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An ESRC Research Programme on the Future of Work

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The Future of Work

1990

Work and Leaving Home: the Experience of England and Wales, 1850-1920

K Schurer

WORKING PAPER No 12

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WORKING PAPER No 12

ESRC FUTURE OF WORK PROGRAMME
ISSN 1469-1531
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Work and leaving home: the experience of England and Wales, 1850–1920

The research reported in this paper was supported under the Economic and Social Research Council 'Future of Work' research programme (Grant number L212252004)

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Introduction

In 1800 Mary Ashford, then aged 13, left her parental home to enter service.[1] Five years earlier, the13 year old Joseph Mayett also left home to enter service.[2] Apart from the timing of their respective moves from the parental home, and the fact that they both recorded this in their retrospectively written autobiographies, the two seemingly shared less else in common. Ashford was the daughter of a London publican; Mayett the son of a day labourer in the Buckinghamshire village of Quainton. She left to become a domestic servant to a family in a banking house in Exchange Alley in the City; he was bound as a servant in husbandry to the farmer for whom his father worked. However, both remained in service for a considerable period of time, changing situations and employers on a frequent basis. Ashford's initial employment at the banking house came to an end after just two months. This was followed by eleven different situations over the next seventeen years. In comparison, Mayett's first stint as a farm servant lasted around six months, after which he served an additional eleven terms over a period of seven years. Ashford's period of service was broken at the age of 30 when she married a shoemaker,[3] Mayett's at the age of 20 when he joined the local militia under the shadow of the war with Napoleon.[4] One feature that these two young servants did share in common was the fact that leaving the parental home also marked the start of their working lives, their entry into the full-time labour market. In this, it was not only a fundamental turning point of their residential experience but also a fundamental economic experience.

The institution of service by which children and young adults left the parental home to work elsewhere has been widely studied across pre-industrial and industrialising northwest Europe.[5] In particular, Hajnal's linking of service to the timing of marriage and, in turn, the process of household and family formation, has given the study of service an added significance and prominence.[6] The basic facts are well known. In the English case it has been estimated that between 1574 and 1821 on average some 13–14 per cent of the total population were in service. Given the age-specific nature of service, this figure rose to 60 per cent for the age group 15–24, with some three-quarters of all servants being between these ages.[7] More recently, the 'universality' of life-cycle service in early-modern England has been challenged,[8] yet even with this proviso, the importance of the institution of service for the circular of labour within the labour market is beyond doubt.[9] Indeed, it has even been suggested that the creation of a young adults labour force served to enable its creation of North Western Europe to industrialise sooner than others.

Fundamental to the institution of service was the transfer of young labour between households, in part ironing-out the effects of demographic chance, as well as transferring labour supply from poorer to richer households. Clearly, one impact of service was the large-scale departure of children from the parental home at a relatively early age. Yet the exact timing of this departure is uncertain. Laslett has suggested that in the early-modern period young men might remain in service from between 12 and 20 years prior to marriage.[10] In an often cited passage, an Italian visitor to England writing about 1500 suggested that English children were kept 'at home till they arrive at the age of 7 to 9 years at the utmost' after which they are put out to service.[11] From the diary evidence of the seventeenth-century Essex clergyman, Ralph Josselin, it can be seen that his seven surviving children left home to either enter service or to gain an education between the ages of ten and fifteen and a half.[12] Examining further evidence, Macfarlane claims that 'Josselin's children were not exceptional in their mobility'.[13] In contrast with these findings for the seventeenth century, using the unusually detailed listing for the lace-making parish of

Cardington, Bedfordshire, compiled in 1782, which enumerates those children who had left home and where they have gone in addition those still resident with their parents, Schofield has calculated that only 16 per cent of boys and 9 per cent of girls aged 10–14 were living apart from their parents.[14] However, for the two age groups 15–19 and 20–24, just 22 and 14 per cent of boys remained at home, respectively.[15] This emphasis on the post-15 ages is supported by the work of Wall who has charted the speed of exit from the parental home for 21 pre-industrial communities for which census-type listings of the population survive giving ages of individuals over the period 1599 to 1831.[16] By comparing the number of residential offspring in households aged 15–19 against the number of those aged 10–14, Wall shows that the mid- to late teens was 'characterised by a mass movement from the parental home', with the number of offspring aged between 15 and 19 living with parent or parents being only 40 per cent of those aged between 10 and 14.[17] In an earlier article in which individuals were traced between parish registers and census listings for four communities between 1697 and 1841, despite detailed analyses including an investigation of occupation type and birth order, Wall could find little in terms of a general pattern.[18] Instead he stressed the variance of experience, concluding that movement from the home was a 'very gradual process, so that even in their early twenties as many as half of all children with parents still alive *could* be residing with them'.[19]

Reworking figures from Anderson's study of family structures in mid-nineteenth-century Preston,[20] and comparing these to the rural Devonshire village of Colyton in 1841, Wall also proposed that age at leaving home may have been raised in the first half of the nineteenth century, with urban industrialising areas retaining children in the home for longer,no doubt due to the greater availability of employment opportunities locally.[21] Using data from the 2 per cent national sample of the 1851 census for Great Britain, Anderson has calculated that 33.4 per cent of boys aged between 15 and 19 and 39.1 per cent of girls were no longer living with their parents at this date.[22] Applying the 'depletion rate' used by Wall to these data, provides a figure of 34 per cent, compared with Wall's overall figure of 40 per cent for the extended period 1599–1831, cited earlier.[23] Thus, by the mid-nineteenth century the pace of exit from the parental home would, indeed, seem to have slackening, with children, on average, staying at home longer than they had done in the previous two centuries. A fundamental change was underway. In part, this trend can be seen to have gone hand in hand with general decline in the numbers engaged in farm service and a subsequent rise in urbanisation and industrialisation.[24] To quote Mitterauer, in the place of service 'came the practice of living at home but working outside it. Consequently, leaving home came to be connected increasingly with marriage and with the upper threshold of youth'.[25] Certainly, the contrast between mid-nineteenth-century picture and that of the mid-twentieth-century is most striking. A survey undertaken by the Department of Education and Employment in 1995 showed that the average age of leaving home for those then aged between 65 and 69 was 26 for men and 24 for women.[26] However, comparatively little is known about this transition in the age of leaving home, either in terms of its pace and timing, or how it relates to problems of employment, including both patterns of home-working and entry into the labour force.

Recent work by Pooley and Turnbull using a database of 16,091 individual life histories collected for people born between 1750 and 1930 throws new light on this issue.[27] Their findings suggest that the age at leaving home peaked in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, thereafter steadily declining over the course of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The family histories reveal an average age at leaving home of 28 for males born between 1750 and 1819, and 25.5 for females. In comparison, for those born

between 1890 and 1930, this had fallen to 21.8 for males and 23.7 for females, respectively.[28] It is the purpose of this paper to investigate these findings in relation to the labour market, using two sets of individual level census data relating to 1851 and 1811, and a special set of anonymised data prepared by the Office for National Statistics for the period 1891 to 1921.

The available data

The census enumerators' books of England and Wales, which contain information on named individuals and the households in which they were resident, are closed to public inspection for a period of 100 years.[29] This paper makes use of three sets of computerised historical census data covering the period 1851-1921, summary statistics of which are given in Table 1. The first set of data is the a two per cent stratified cluster sample of the British census of 1851 created by Michael Anderson and his team at the University of Edinburgh as a result of ESRC (then SSRC) funding.[30] Although this dataset includes sample data for Scotland and institutional establishments, the analyses in this paper have principally been confined to the household and data for England and Wales in order to maintain comparability with the other two data collections. As a result, the analyses for this year which follow are based on a total sample of 335,363 individuals.

The second data set arises from an initiative started in 1987 by the Genealogical Society of Utah (GSU), along with the Federation of Family History Societies, to create a complete machine-readable transcription of the 1881 census enumerators' books for England and Wales.[31] The database was compiled essentially in order to produce a series of microfiche to facilitate genealogical searching. However, copies of the data have been made available to the History Data Service at the University of Essex. Subsequently, extensive work on these data has been undertaken at the History Department, University of Essex to standardise, encode and enrich the original source data.[32] At the time of writing this work was still in progress and as a result, analyses have been undertaken on only a portion of the entire data collection for the purpose of this paper. Four English counties have been selected for analysis, namely Devonshire, Essex, Staffordshire and Westmorland. These have not been selected at random. Rather their inclusion for analysis is based on a number of criteria: their disparate geographical location; their varied occupational and economic structure; and the overlap with the census data available for a later period, as described below. As detailed in Table 1, in combination these four counties cover a total population of some 2.17 million individuals across approximately 450,000 households, some 8 per cent of the entire population of England and Wales.

The third data series that this paper uses is a selection of anonymised individual level census data created by the Office for National Statistics (ONS, the then Office for Population, Censuses and Surveys[33]) for the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.[34] These data cover the four decadal census years between 1891 and 1921 and had been stripped of both names and addresses by ONS. Unlike the 1851 dataset described above, the collection is not a random sample but rather a selection of enumeration districts for thirteen predetermined communities, or locales. Each of these was deliberately chosen so that in combination a broad mix of community types is represented, both in terms of housing types and employment opportunities.[35] The minimum unit for selection was a census enumeration district and each locale is composed of a cluster of usually contiguous enumeration districts. Unfortunately the boundaries of enumeration districts can vary from census to census, especially in urban areas.

Thus within each locale enumeration districts were grouped together into what are termed sectors in order to form areas for which the geographical territory covered is reasonably constant over time. In total the database includes information on some 389,000 individual records, however, as Table 2 shows, this figure is unevenly distributed between census years and from locale to locale, with the overall population size in observation increasing by some 28 per cent, from 83,515 for the first census year to 106,739 for the last. This table also displays the number of enumeration districts and sectors that constitute each locale.

In the case of the 1851 census dataset, being a stratified cluster sample, this is statistically representative of England and Wales as a whole. The same cannot, however, be claimed of the other two census collections. In making these selections of census data the main concern was to provide a basis for drawing contrasts and comparisons between the experiences of one place, or one social, or one economic group, with those of others.[36] Despite this, when the available data are pooled together by census year the broad demographic profile of the combined data as measured by age and sex and marital status distribution are strikingly similar to that of the country as a whole.[37] The main divergence appears in the upper age groups, those aged 60 plus, this discrepancy being accounted for in part by the nature of the selection, with information for 'institutions' being omitted from the selection.[38]

This convergence with the national picture is not replicated, however, when attention is turned to economic structure. Figure 1 compares the occupational profiles of the 4 counties selected for 1881 and the combined 13 locales of 1891-1921 with those of England and Wales for each of the census years in question.[39] This table serves to illustrate the key characteristics of the 1881 and 1891-1921 census material. As with the demographic structure, the overall distribution of employment by occupational category across the selected census material is broadly comparable with the distribution for the country as a whole.[40] The main discrepancy between the selected 4 counties for 1881 and the national totals is that they are overly agricultural. Whilst the national average was for some 16 per cent of occupied males to be employed in agricultural activities, both Devon and Essex numbered some 30 per cent, with Westmorland recording some 36 per cent. Conversely, Staffordshire was under represented with just 8 per cent. The inclusion of Staffordshire also accounted for the over representation of males employed in 'Bricks, cement, pottery and glass' with the county recording some 8.5 per cent in relation to a national average of just over 1 per cent. Equally, with some 13 per cent of males employed in metal industries, Staffordshire recorded levels in this sector at nearly twice the national average. Employment in the textile industry is under represented in the 4 counties for both males and females in 1881. This is a result of the fact that during this period the textile industry was heavily concentrated, especially in the case of women, in the northern counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and London. Female employment in 'Bricks, cement, pottery and glass' was also over represented due the concentration of this industry in Staffordshire, while the numbers engaged in domestic service were also high compared to the national average, with Westmorland recording some 66 per cent and Essex and Devon both recording levels of around 56 per cent. In the case of the 1891-1921 census material one of the key differences is the over representation in the 13 locales of those working in 'Bricks, cement, pottery and glass'. This is principally due to the inclusion of a group of enumeration districts for the Hanley district of Stoke, the national centre of the pottery industry. Likewise, 'Mining' occupations are also over represented due to the inclusion of enumeration districts from the Earsdon area, which was typified by a high concentration of mining and related activities, as well as Abergavenny and Morland which also contained mining and quarrying activities, the latter area being characterised by lead and slate quarrying rather

than coal mining. The surplus of those employed in 'Food, drink and tobacco', minimal in the first three census years, but rising to 4 per cent for males and 5 per cent for females in 1921 is accounted for by the inclusion of York in the selection, which was home to a large chocolate and confectionery industry, including the famous Rowntree company. The small excess of those occupied in 'Wood' based industries in the period 1891 to 1911 arises mainly from the inclusion of relatively large number of cabinet and furniture makers in Bethnal Green, located in London's 'east end'. The steel manufacturing of Swansea, which declined in importance towards the end of the period, contributes to a slight over-representation of 'Metal' working in the initial census year.

Studying age at leaving home from census data

Census data are certainly not the ideal source with which to study migration. This is primarily due to the fact that the information they contain is static and cross-sectional, while migration is essentially a process. Migratory movements in effect start in one place and finish somewhere else. The fact that the move might simply be to a different house in the same street, to the next village or to the other end of the country is irrelevant in this context. Despite this basic problem, ever since Ravenstein's pioneering work on the subject, census data have been much used in the study of migration.[41] Nominal level census information has primarily been used to study migration in one of two ways. First, so-called 'lifetime' migration has been studied by comparing the information recorded for place of birth with that of current place of residence. Second, population turnover and migrations associated with it has been examining by comparing those listed for a given place in one census year with those of a subsequent year or years. Both methods may reveal a large amount of detail concerning the demographic, social and economic characteristics of those observed to have moved and those who seemingly did not, but it can reveal little about the actual motives and decision making process that lie behind moving or staying.

Given these reservations, what can census data reveal about the process of leaving home? As a starting point it is possible to simply divide the population under observation in any census enumeration into two groups: those who are living with their parents or lone parent, and those who are not. Applying this straightforward dichotomy it would be easy to equate those in the first group with those who had not yet left the parental home, and those in the second with having left home. Such distributions can then be graphed by age, as is the case in the various panels of Figure 2 that display the combined data by census year and gender. In examining the diagrams given in this figure it can be seen that the two curves for those living and not living with a parent are reciprocal, that it to say that one is simply the converse of the other, and therefore taken together the proportions will always sum to one hundred per cent. Consequently, it is possible to determine the crossover point where the respective proportions will be exactly 50 per cent each. This point marks the stage at which the majority of the population passes from living with at least one parent to not residing in the parental home. Focusing on this point, we can straight away notice two key features: this crossover occurred at younger ages in the case of girls in comparison with boys; and that for both sexes the timing of the crossover was progressively delayed. Consequently for females the crossover point occurred at age 18.5 in 1851, 20 in 1891 and 24 in 1921, compared to 20, 22 and 26 respectively for males. However, before too much is read into these initial observations it is necessary to consider more fully what these curves tell us, and what they do not.

Figure 2 simply illustrates the age-specific proportions of parental co-residence. Obviously the distribution of these proportions is primarily influenced by the propensity of leaving the parental home, but this is not the only factor that will affect these figures. Clearly an individual cannot live with his or her parents or parent if the person in question does not have any parents to live with. Consequently, the distribution and intensity of adult mortality can and will influence the shape of such curves. Theoretically, in an unrealistically extreme case, similar distributions to those displayed in Figure 2 might be achieved by a society in which no one actually left the parental home but instead parents died whilst the children were still relatively young. The critical factor is weather or not children on average tend to leave home before the death of their parents or if the premature death of parents precludes their offspring from actually leaving the parental home. The likelihood of parental 'survivalship' has been studied by Anderson using life table statistics.[42] The key findings of this work are summarised in Table 3. This suggests two basic factors. First, that over the period of investigation only a very small number of children were unfortunate enough to have experienced the death of both parents before the age of fifteen. Second, the general improvements in adult mortality levels witnessed in the second half of the nineteenth century resulted in a marked decline over the period of study in the proportions of those aged around 25 having lost both parents.[43] These observations can be compared with the more recent work of Zhao who has used the rather different technique of micro-simulation to reconstruct patterns of kin availability in the Victorian period.[44] This work focuses attention on the impact of the demographic transition of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, characterised by falling fertility levels and improved mortality, on the changing numbers of kin individuals might be expected to have had over the Victorian period. It contrasts a 'pre-transition demographic regime' with a 'post-transition demographic regime': the former taken as a hypothetical birth cohort of those born in 1851, the latter those born in 1901.[45] The findings of this work are mixed in relation to that of Anderson. For the 1901 birth cohort, the number of females who had lost both parents was 0 per cent at age 5, rising to 2 percent by age 10 and staying at 2 per cent until age 15.[46] Whilst these figures bare a close parallel to the work of Anderson, those for the 1851 birth cohort are divergent. In this case Zhao suggests that the number of females who had lost both parents was 2 per cent at age 5, rising to 10 percent by age 10 and 18 per cent by age 15.[47] The cause of this discrepancy is unclear, however, it plausible that Anderson's work focusing on the influence of mortality on residence patterns takes into account the impact of remarriage, whilst Zhao's charts purely demographic characteristics. In this regard, it is clearly possible that whilst a child can lose one of both natural parents as a result of mortality, this does not mean that they will necessary be 'parentless' as remarriage will replace the natural parent or parents with step-parents. For the purpose of determining the timing of leaving home, residence with either step or natural parent(s) prevails over the mortality experience of natural parents, thus it would appear that Anderson's calculations provide a more useful indicator to the likely influence of mortality on residence patterns.

Lastly, the impact of adult mortality on the likelihood of children becoming parents can be observed directly from the information on orphanhood recorded as part of the 1921 census. Concerned about the effect of First World War losses on children, the 1921 census required those aged under fifteen to state if their father and mother were alive or dead. This was the first time that direct information on orphanhood was collected by the census authorities. A summary of the findings, for both England and Wales as a whole and the combined 13 locales is given in Table 4. This shows that despite the war losses, the numbers of children in 1921 bereaved of both parents was very small, being less than 1 per cent of those aged 10–14. Table 4 also shows that parental loss was slightly less frequent in the selected locales in comparison with the overall

national picture. This is both indicative of the slightly 'healthier' nature of the areas selected and the fact that the selection does not include institutional returns, which may have included special homes for orphans. What all three sets of figures indicate is that although in theory parental mortality could have an impact on the levels of those living with parents, in practise during the period from 1891 and after the effect was minimal for those under the age of fifteen and relatively insignificant by age twenty. From the latter nineteenth century the most important factor influencing the dislocation from their parents for the vast majority of adolescents was not death but migration in the form movement away from the parental home. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, the death of parents may have proved to be an influencing factor in the residence pattern of some young children and this needs to be accounted for in the analyses that follow.

Mortality, however, is not the only problem when attempting to examine the process of leaving home from census data. When comparing the age structure of those living with parents in any single set of census data to the age structure of those who are not living with parents there is an added complication of comparing like with like. Within any given place of enumeration those individuals who are observed in the census not living with their parents are not necessary the children of childless parents recorded in the same return. Thus, for any single place it may be rather artificial to compare the age structure of those in the parental home with those outside it since the two groups may have quite different experiences of leaving home. Again, this is perhaps best illustrated by an extreme example. In a particular census district the children of native families might always stay in the parental home, yet at the same time this practise could be supplemented by a steady flow of young adults from various neighbouring districts. If this were the case then observation of those living outside the parental home in the census would not be indicative of the process of leaving home for that particular district, reflecting instead the migratory processes in the districts from which the migrants were drawn. In consequence, using census data to compare the experience of those still in the parental home with those outside it one assumes a certain degree of complimentarity in the leaving home process between those who have done so and those who have not. This may be of particular significance in the case of urban areas experiencing an inward migratory drift from surrounding areas. In such an instance it may be the case that those from the rural hinterland leave home earlier than their counterparts in the town, yet both groups would appear simultaneously in the same census. This point will be returned to in discussing the findings of this analysis.

Towards a new methodology

Despite the problems inherent with census data, as discussed above, it is suggested that age-specific distributions of those living within the parental home and those outside, such as those reproduced in Figure 2, can provide a reasonable surrogate measure of the extent and pace of leaving home. This type of problem, that of estimating the timing of a particular transition from one state to another from cross-sectional census data, is termed a 'current-status' model by demographers. The best known example of the application of a current-status model is probably that of Hajnal on the timing of marriage.[48] Wishing to examine the timing and propensity of marriage across several European countries, in the absence of direct information on marriage, Hajnal turned to published census data as a surrogate. He devised a method to indirectly calculate the crossover or transition point at which the majority of the population in observation shifted from being never-married to ever-married. In other words, the age at which the majority

of the population under observation were no longer single or unmarried. This point, the so-called singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM) has subsequently become a standard demographic proxy measure for age at marriage in the absence of direct information, such as marriage registers.[49] If one visualises a graph displaying two curves, one of the age distribution of the never-married population in a given census, the other of those ever-married, with the crossover point occurring where each curve measures exactly fifty per cent, then the parallel with the information depicted in Figure 2 is immediately obvious. Consequently, it is possible to adapt Hajnal's SMAM to calculate what might best be termed the singulate mean age at leaving home (SMAL).[50]

With regard to the calculation of SMAMs it is important to realise that the SMAM is not simply the point or age at which the two curves on our imaginary graph cross: the fifty per cent mark. In the original form, the Hajnal SMAM is a measurement of the mean marriage age of those who marry *before the age of fifty*. As such, in the calculation of SMAMs allowance has to be made for those in the population who do not marry by this age, in other words the proportion of the population who remain (to use the term favoured by demographers) celibate, or more accurately never marry. This is perhaps best illustrated by considering Hajnal's original formulation for the SMAM. Taking the proportion of the population never-married in the eight quinquennial age groups 15 to 54 as $nm_1 ..nm_8$, the necessary steps are as follows:[51]

(1) Assuming that no one marries under the age of 15, calculate the mean years of singleness for those aged under 15.

$15 \times 100 = 1500$

(2) Calculate the total years of singleness for those aged 15–49.

${}_{15}s_{49} = \Sigma(nm_1 ..nm_7) \times 5$

(3) Calculate the total years of singleness for those aged less than 50.

${}_{0}s_{49} = {}_{15}s_{49} + 1500$

(4) Calculate the average proportion in the population remaining never-married.

$\%nm = (nm_7 + nm_8) / 2$

(5) Calculate the total years of singleness for those never-married by age 50.

${}_{0}nm_{49} = \%nm \times 50$

(6) Calculate the total years of singleness for those who married by age 50.

${}_{0}em_{49} = {}_{0}s_{49} - {}_{0}nm_{49}$

(7) Calculate the proportion of those who married by age 50.

$\%em = 100 - \%nm$

(8) Calculate singulate mean age at marriage.

$SMAM = {}_0em_{49} / \%em$

Thus, in line with the SMAM, the proportions not resident with parents shown in the panels of Figure 2 need to be adjusted to take account of those who do not actually leave home, in the same way that the SMAM calculation includes an adjustment for those who do not marry. The importance of this adjustment has been noted by Guinnane who, in relation to his work on leaving home in late-nineteenth century rural Ireland, noted the failure of many previous studies on the subject to take account of the (in the Irish case) potentially large numbers of the population who did not leave home at all, and thereby artificially inflate the calculation of the mean age of leaving home for those persons who actually did leave home.[52] In making this adjustment it was decided to select 30 as the upper age since the bulk of evidence to hand would suggest that the vast majority of individuals who do leave the parental home do so by age thirty.

One additional adjustment that needs to be made that is specific to the SMAL and does feature in the Hajnal formulation for the SMAM relates to the problem of parental mortality, as discussed previously. In effect one needs to add to the age-specific proportions of those recorded in the census as living apart from the parental home an appropriate percentage figure to compensate for those whose separation from their parents has been caused by being orphaned rather than migration *per se*. Even with the mortality estimates detailed previously, unfortunately this is not a straight forward task and can only be achieved by making assumptions concerning the relationships between parental mortality, remarriage and residence patterns. Indeed, the problem is a circular one and is compounded by the fact that the pace of leaving home would appear to accelerate at the same time that the likelihood of dual parental lose also increased. Clearly it would be erroneous to assume that all those who had lost both parents through death, with neither parent being replaced by a step parent, would have remained living with them had they survived. Realistically, for example, only a small proportion of those who lost both parents at age 25 in the mid-nineteenth century would still be living at home by that age anyway. Thus for the vast majority suffering parental loss at this age the event would not effect the timing of their departure from the parental home as this would already have occurred. Conversely, a much higher percentage, probably the clear majority, of those who, say, lose their parents aged two would have continued to reside with their parents had not mortality intervened. The solution to this problem adopted here has been to adjust the portions recorded in the census as living in the parental home using the mortality schedules produced by Anderson scaling these *pro rata* in accordance with the observed rate from the census for residence away from the parental home, on the assumption that those experiencing parental loss would *ipso facto* have behaved the same as the rest of the population.

One further point needs to be made. In formulating the original SMAM calculation, Hajnal used proportions of population never-married split into five-year groups. The simple reason for this is because he was reliant upon tabulated published census material. Since this exercise uses individual level data then the calculations can be carried out by single ages

rather than grouped ages. This refinement will have the effect of given greater precision to the results. Thus the formula for the SMAL can be represented as follows.

$$SMAL = ((\Sigma(p_0 ..p_{29}) + \Sigma(m_0 ..m_{29})) - (\Sigma(p_{28} ..p_{32})/5 * 30)) / (100 - (\Sigma(p_{28} ..p_{32})/5))$$

In this equation $p_0 ..p_{32}$ equals the proportion of the population living with a parent at each individual age between 0 and 32. The parental mortality correction factor is given by $m_0 ..m_{29}$, and the proportion not living the parental home by age 30 is calculated by averaging the five percentage figures for those aged 28 to 32.

Before applying this formula to the available data, it is necessary to make some general comments on the limitations of current-status models, especially when they are constructed for local rather than national populations.[53] In addition to the problem of reciprocal movement, discussed already, current-status models assume a certain uniformity of experience over timing. For example, in the calculation of SMAMs, it is assumed that the estimation of the proportion remaining unmarried, which is based on the observation of those current unmarried in the census aged 45–54, will hold true for those who have yet to reach this age. Relating this to our formula for the SMAL, it is assumed that the levels still at home by age 30 in any given census year will also be experienced by those of younger ages. In a population in which the age of leaving home is changing this assumption is clearly not correct. One further problem that needs to be considered in relation to the calculation of SMALs, which does not effect SMAMs, is that of changing status. In the case of SMAMs, as has been stated already, one is observing the change in status from being single to being married, or more precisely, from being never-married to ever-married. Once ever-married, irrespective of divorce, widowhood or separation, an individual cannot return to being never-married. The same is not true of leaving home. It is possible for an individual to change states more than once. In other words, an individual can leave home, then return to their parents, and thus appear in the census data as if they had never left home. Indeed, Pooley and Turnbull have suggested that such 'temporary' departures from the parental home were not uncommon.[54] Such behaviour not only has the overall effect of raising the ages for the calculated SMALs, but also raises questions about what is meant by leaving home.[55] This issue will be returned to later. Whilst these methodological problems will undoubtedly impact on the true accuracy of the SMALs, and need to be taken account of in the interpretation of the resulting figures, they do not diminish their value as a tool for comparative purposes.

Findings

Applying the SMAL formula to the available data, the results for the 3 sets of data in aggregated form are shown in Table 5. In addition to the SMALs, this table also gives figures for the first quartile (Q1), the age at which the crossover point was reached (the second quartile), and the third quartile (Q3). The overall trends from this table are clear. First, females consistently left home earlier than males. This runs counter to Wall's findings for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but is consistent with most other work on leaving home, including that relating to the contemporary period.[56] Second, for both sexes the age at leaving home rose consistently over the period. For males the greatest rise occurred in the early part of the period under investigation, while for females it was between 1881 and 1901. For both sexes, proportionally smaller rises in the age at leaving home were witnessed at the end of the period

(between 1911-21), being less than half of a year. These figures would seem to directly contradict the findings of Pooley and Turnball, discussed above, who argue for a general decline in age at leaving home. Clearly, this point needs to be examined further. Third, in line with the observed rise in SMALs, the Q1–Q3 points also increase over time. Equally, it should be noted that the age difference between reaching Q1 and Q3 (the inter-quartile range) decline for males by some two years over the period, while that for females first declines, remains constant, then rises slightly. This would suggest that whilst the duration of time over which most departures from the parental home took place for males declined over the period, that for females remained roughly the same. For females, the main change was that both the 'start' and the 'end' of the process were delayed. This feature also, merits further investigation, especially as it runs counter to the work of Stevens who has demonstrated that the process of leaving home in the United States between 1900 and 1980 was characterised by the inter-quartile range becoming increasingly smaller in the case of both sexes. These findings would also suggest that leaving the parental home was increasingly been divergent with joining the labour market. The two factors were most probably becoming the distinct experiences rather than a single experience.

Behind these general trends, however, lay a wide diversity of experience. This is summarised in Table 6 which gives SMALs by county and region for England and Wales in 1851, Table 7 which gives SMALs for the 4 counties selected for 1881 and Figure 3 which plots SMALs for each of the 13 locales, for each census year. Turning first to the 1851 data presented in Table 6, it should be noted that care needs be taken in interpreting the county figures, as the number of individuals in the 1851 sample when broken down by county become quite small in some cases. This said, an interesting regional pattern can be seen to emerge. Departure from the parental home generally tended to be later in the western counties of England, Wales, and the east of England. In the south of England, in comparison, departure tended to be earlier. The metropolitan counties of London being influencing by the migration of adolescents and young adults into London in search of service and other forms of employment. The north of the country produces a mixed picture, with the West Riding of Yorkshire displaying rather late ages at leaving home, while the East and North Riding, together to a lesser degree with the counties of Durham and Northumberland, record relatively earlier ages. The situation in Yorkshire, points to a general dichotomy in which the more industrialised counties realised later ages of departure from the parental home, no doubt as a result of local employment prospects, counties dominated more by agriculture witnessed earlier departures. However, even among the more agricultural counties differences can be found. In particular there was a tendency for males in the eastern counties, in particular Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, to remain in the parental home longer than their counterparts in the agriculture counties of the north west. This feature will be commented upon later when examining the available data for the period 1891 to 1921.

The general influence of agriculture versus industry can also be seen to a lesser degree when examining the four counties available for 1881. Staffordshire, by far the most industrial of the four counties records the highest SMALs for both males and females. In the case of the other three counties, again, an east-north/west difference can be noted. Essex in the east, with identical proportions employed in agriculture as Devon in this period experiences later departures from the parental home for females, but especially males. Westmorland, situated in the extreme north west of the country shows significantly earlier departures in the case of males compared to the other three counties.

In the case of the census data available for the period 1891 to 1921, given that there is reasonable geographic consistency over each of the 13 locales over time, it is possible to track the relative situation place by place. This is done in Figure 3 which displays male SMALs on the horizontal axis, against female SMALs on the vertical axis, for each of the individual 13 locales, for each census year. The initial feature to be noted about this figure is the fact that the graphs show a general trend along a 45 degree diagonal from bottom left to top right. This indicates that in each locale the delay in leaving home between 1891 and 1921 occurred at the roughly same rate for both males and females. However, the experience of leaving home clearly differed from place to place. At one extreme, Bethnal Green can be seen to be characterised by both late departures of boys and girls, throughout the period. The scarce employment and housing opportunities that are claimed to have typified this 'traditional' working class area may have contributed towards this pattern,[57] as might the fact that the area was home to many immigrant Jewish families from eastern Europe who may have acted accorded to set of different familial norms.[58] In contrast, the Morland cluster of enumeration districts, which includes some eight upland hill-farming parishes spread out around the village of Shap, consistently records early departures for males and females. This feature would appear to be attributed to the high incidence of farm service, the practise remaining in this remote north-west area of the country long after it had disappeared in central, southern and eastern England.[59] As such it stands in contrast to Saffron Walden[60] which is also dominated by agriculture. Here, boys left home some 3–4 years later than their Morland counterparts, and girls some 1–2 years later. Interestingly, both these rural areas buck the general trend of delayed departure by witnessing a fall in age between the last two census years. Between these two extremes, a range of experiences can be seen. Of particular note is the quite dramatic rise in the ages of leaving home in Walthamstow, which was transformed over this period into a new upper-working/lower-middle class suburb just six and a half miles to the east of London.[61] Abergavenny, Bolton, Banbury and Stoke all display similar, yet less dramatic rises. Also of note is the trend set by Pinner, the developing middle-class suburb located to the north-west of the capital. With the difference experienced by boys and girls being rather more marked than in the other locales, with girls leaving at relatively young ages in comparison with boys, the trend-line for this area is slightly set apart from most. This is a resulting feature of the fact that Pinner employed a relatively large pool of female domestic servants, most of whom would have been recruited outside of the immediate area. Thus, as discussed above, the experience of those outside the home and within the home is not reciprocal. As a result, the female SMALs reflect move the experience of the young domestic servants moving into the area, rather than of the native Pinner girls.

The contrasts between different places or communities is perhaps better pictured if the data are grouped and analysed at the sector level by prevailing community type rather than by locale. This is important since some of the locales include two or more quite different types of community. For example, the Axminster locale includes the coastal parishes of Seaton and Beer, which by the early twentieth century were developing into predominantly middle-class resorts, as well as the rural agricultural inland parishes of Colyton and Shute. Equally, the Abergavenny locale comprises part of the town of Abergavenny with mixed light and retailing industries, an upland agricultural region and part of the coal-mining district around Blaenavon. The results of this exercise are shown in Figure 4. Once the individual locales are disaggregated into more homogenous community 'types', in particular separating off middle-class residential areas employing and housing relative large numbers of servants, and distinquishing between 'market towns' and their rural agricultural hinterlands, the overall trends become more distinct. The basic pattern of SMALs moving along a broad 45 degree line running from the approximate

ages of 18x20 (females-males) to 22x24 is strengthened. This reinforces the motion of a gradual increase in the age at leaving home during the period occurring across a broad range of community types, with the delayed departure for boys increasing at an identical rate as girls. Figure 4 also underlines the difference in experience between urban and agricultural areas, but also makes clear that a general regional difference between north/westerly (mainly pastoral) and central/eastern (mainly arable and mixed) farming areas was in evidence, as suggested by the earlier data for 1851. In consequence, it is not possible to speak of a common rural experience, with regional diversity across the country being maintained through to the early twentieth century, indeed, possibly even becoming more marked over time. As one might expect, given the large presence of mainly female domestic servants, professional middle-class residential areas also display a distinctive pattern, with the surplus of young girls living away from home depressing the SMALs, although the SMALs for boys are also relatively low.

It could be argued that the relative low SMALs of the professional urban areas and the relative high SMALs of the more working class urban areas are a product of the latter shedding young people, girls in particular, moving to enter service in the former. In order to test this possibility, it is necessary to examine the professional sectors more fully. Domestic service was mainly concentrated in five urban residential areas across the 13 locales, these being enumeration districts in Abergavenny, Seaton (part of Axminster), Pinner, York and Swansea. For each of these five areas, the birthplaces of female servants aged between 15 and 20 were investigated. In all cases, using parish of birth as a proxy measure, the majority of servants were drawn from the surrounding rural areas. However, the situation varied across the five professional areas. Swansea demonstrated the greatest propensity to hire local girls, with some 45 per cent of live-in servants being natives. For both York and Abergavenny the figure was around the 30 per cent mark and less than 20 per cent in Seaton. Pinner, which of all the areas within the data had the highest number and density of live-in servants, employed hardly any native-born girls. In 1911, the peak year for servant employment in Pinner, only 2 per cent of domestics were born within the parish. The vast majority, over three-quarters were drawn from predominantly rural settlements strung out across central and southern England. A quarter of all Pinner's servants had been born in the neighbouring 'Home Counties' of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire and Hertfordshire. Fewer than 20 per cent of all servants had been born in London. In consequence, although differences can be noticed between 'provincial' towns and the capital in particular, in general the tendency was for servants to be recruited from out-lying rural districts rather within the area of employment.[62]

It is, of course, impossible to produce occupation specific SMALs since one cannot determine the parental occupations of those recorded in the census as no longer living at home. However, an indication of the influence of parental occupation can be gained by examining age-specific sex ratios of residential children. In Table 8 sex ratios are calculated for a small number of specific occupations for the period 1891 to 1921 only. Considering first the father's occupation, in all years the largest surplus of boys over girls for the 15–19 age group occurs in the homes of agricultural labourers, with three of the four census years recording two boys for every girl. This preference for boys is also carried through for offspring aged 20–29, although with the exception of 1911 which records 3 boys for every girl, the trend is not as marked as the earlier age grouping. This would seem to suggest that boys were retained in the home longer than girls, with girls moving away at relatively young ages. The selective preference of agricultural labourers for sons over daughters stands in contrast to the homes of professionals in which the sex ratios were generally more balanced, but with a tendency to favour girls over boys,

especially in the case of those children age 20–29. Girls also tended to be more numerous in the case of textile workers (most of the sample of which is drawn from the cotton manufacturing town of Bolton), however, his trend is broken in 1921. It is also interesting to note that although households where the mother worked in textiles also favoured girls, the trend was less well defined. Fathers engaged in trade generally showed little gender preference, while mothers in trade, like those in textiles, seemed to have kept girls at home in favour of boys. Miners, like agricultural labourers, retained boys over girls at higher ages, presumably reflecting the differential job opportunities in mining districts, but also possibly inter-linked with the relatively higher ages at marriage witnessed by miners in this period.[63] Lastly, although Farmers display an overall tendency toward retaining sons rather that daughters, this feature is not particularly pronounced, indeed, for those offspring aged over 20 daughters were more numerous in both 1891 and 1921. This finding is perhaps rather surprising given that previous work on leaving the parental home has suggested that farmers were historically more inclined than most occupations to retain their sons, not only as a supply of labour but also in anticipation of inheritance.[64] However, the fact that this period witnessed severe depression in the agricultural sector, especially in the 1880s and 1920s may have contributed toward a decline in the practise of sons remaining at home on the farm for a prolonged length of time.

Table 8 also displays the 'index of depletion' for individual occupation groups, as expressed by the numbers of offspring aged 15–19 as a percentage of those 10–14, both sexes combined. These shown a general increase across all occupations over the four census years, confirming the basic trend of delayed departure from the parental home as suggested previously by the SMALs. Despite the strong preference for sons over daughters shown by agricultural labourers, this group consistently records the highest rate of depletion indicating a marked tendency to release children from the home, especially girls, at a relative early age. The other occupational groups offer no clear comparative picture, however, it is interesting to note the quite dramatic rise in the depletion index for potters in 1911 and 1921 suggesting a prolonged presence in the home for children of potters in the early twentieth century. This, as will be discussed later, may have been more a feature of residential changes within Stoke rather than anything specifically related to employment within the pottery industry.

Although the SMALs provide a useful surrogate measure of the comparative timing of offspring departing home, they give no indication on the pace at which children exited the parental home. A key finding of Wall's earlier work on leaving home concentrating on the one hundred and fifty year period prior to 1841 was that 'movement from home was a very gradual process', with the 'whole process [being] .. so much more protracted in the past'.[65] This finding has also been confirmed by Pooley and Turnbull who stress the importance of 'temporary absence', with children coming and going from the parental home before making a decisive break.[66] This historic pattern stands in contrast to more contemporary situations which tend to show a pattern of late but rapid departure from home, with the proportions living apart from parents rising from around 10 to 90 per cent in the space of less than 10 years.[67] Thus, the rate at which children exited the parental home would also seem to be an important consideration in studying the transition from a 'traditional' historic to modern model.

It has already been noted that (with reference to Table 5) the inter-quartile range of the proportions not living with parents by age remained roughly the same over the four census years. However, this may be an insensitive tool with which to measure the rate of departure. In order to determine the extent of variation around the SMAL figures and estimate the pace of

exit, a series of different measures were devised. The basic aim of these measures is to try and estimate the points at which the curve showing the proportion living apart from parents by age begins to drop sharply and then levels out again (see the panels of Figure 2). Once these two points are established then a 'rate' of change between the two can be calculated. The first of these points, named the 'take-off' point, was defined as the first age that was followed by a drop of 3 (or more) per cent in the proportion living at home in a single year, followed by a drop of 4 (or more) per cent in the next year. So, in the following hypothetical sequence, the take-off point would be assigned to age 15.

% with parent(s)	92	91	89	88	85	80	73
Age	12	13	14	15	16	17	18

Likewise, the 'level' point was defined as the first age after the take-off point that was followed by a drop of 2 (or less) per cent in the proportion living at home in a single year, followed by a drop of 1 (or zero) per cent in the next year. A 'rate' of exit was then calculated in terms of the proportion of the population leaving home per year between the take-off age and the age at which the level point occurred.

The results of this exercise are shown in Table 9. Applying this method rather than the inter-quartile range does show that the rate of exodus from the parental home did appear quicken over the period being studied. Equally, the age gap between the take-off and level points narrowed by some four years in the case of males, and fell sharply between 1911 and 1921 for females. Together these trends would suggest that the process of leaving home for males was gradually being concentrated into a shorter time duration over the period from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. In comparison with the findings of Wall for an earlier period, mentioned previously, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the process of leaving home for both sexes had become decidedly more 'modern' in appearance, with girls witnessing a sharp narrowing of the duration of the leaving home process between 1911 and 1921. The experience of the 13 locales during the period 1891 to 1921 is particularly instructive. In this regard it is interesting to note that the lowest rates of departure are consistently to be found for both sexes in the north-westerly rural agricultural sectors. It was in these areas, especially the in the upland fell country of Morland that the 'traditional' pattern of a protracted process of leaving home persisted longest. In comparison Walthamstow, Bolton and Stoke especially, all display a more 'modern' profile with higher and rising rates. For example, the rates for males in Stoke rose from 4.47 to 5.77 (1891 to 1921), while those for females in Bolton increased from 3.74 to 4.45. In line with this development, in considering the range of SMALs recorded for the different community types over the four census years, if one excludes the agricultural and professional sectors from the rest of the sample population, it can be seen that there is a trend towards greater homogeneity. The variance in experience of leaving the parental home between the different communities appears to diminish over the period of study.[68] Taken together, these factors all point in the same direction. The process of leaving home had changed from the pattern observed for the mid-nineteenth century period, and was on the way to becoming more like that for the present day.

Having examined the timing and extent of leaving home, it is appropriate to turn attention to the residential situation of those living with or without parents. The various panels of Figure 5 display the proportions of individuals living in different residential categories by age, sex and census year. The residential categories used in this figure are as follows:

Living with parent(s)

nmboth	Never-married, living with both parents
nmmot	Never-married, living with mother
nmfat	Never-married, living with father
spboth	Living with spouse (but no children) and both parents
spmot	Living with spouse (but no children) and mother
spfat	Living with spouse (but no children) and father
kidsboth	Living with children (with or without spouse) and both parents
kidsmot	Living with children (with or without spouse) and mother
kidsfat	Living with children (with or without spouse) and father

Living apart from parents

alone	Living alone
spouse	Living with spouse
spkids	Living with spouse and child(ren)
kids	Living with child(ren) but without spouse
servt	Living as a residential servant
inmate	Living as a boarder or lodger (non-familial)
relats	Living with relatives (other than spouse or children)

Considering first the situation of females (Figures 5a-5f), as is perhaps expected, it can be seen that the predominant experience outside of the parental home between the ages of 13 and 18 was service. Then, from the ages of around 18 to 19, service gradually gave way to marriage, with child-rearing following almost directly after. Over the period between 1851 and 1921, however, the experience of service became far less important for teenage girls. In the 70 year period the numbers in service at age 19 contracted by over half from around 35 per cent to 15 per cent. Also, the numbers living with relatives changed significantly over the period. In 1851 this feature can be seen as a relative important aspect throughout the life-cycle, but was contracting by 1881 and by 1891 peaking around the ages 15-16 at the ten per cent level. Finally, by 1921 living with kin barely reached five per cent for any age under 35. This change in residential arrangements may well reflect the decline in 'parentless' children, as detailed earlier. It can also be seen that two to three times as many girls are to be found living with a lone mother than a lone father. This difference is most marked in 1921, no doubt as a result of male losses in the First World War.

Moving to the residential situation of males (Figures 5g-5l), the principal experience outside of the parental home prior to marriage was lodging rather than service. Living-in service reaching levels of twenty per cent in the late teens in 1851 had already declined to less than ten per cent for males aged 15-20 in 1891, and by 1921 was virtually non-existent. Linked to this decline, just as service collapsed for females, living as a lodger or boarder also became less marked for males over the period. In 1851 the level of inmates (lodgers and boarders combined) peaking at around the twenty per cent mark for those aged in their early twenties. Similar levels were maintained in 1881 and 1891, only to drop away sharply in the early twentieth century, with the figure being halved by 1921. In comparison with females, living with relatives was generally less important for males, but as with females the propensity to reside with kin declined over the

period of study. Like girls, more boys and teenagers lived with lone mothers than lone fathers, indeed, especially after the First World War, there are proportionally marginally more boys with widowed mothers than girls, thus reversing the trend found by Anderson for mid-nineteenth-century Preston and supported by Wall from his analysis of pre-industrial listings of inhabitants.[69]

Reviewing the changing residential situations of both males and females together, the overwhelming feature during this period was the contraction of non-familial living for both sexes, as a result of the collapse of service for girls and lodging for boys. In conjunction with this trend, another important change in residential arrangements took place. Although it is well known that the norm in the English past was to form new households at the point of marriage,[70] during this period, living with parents after marriage became a more frequent occurrence. In 1851 the numbers living with parents following marriage were negligible. By 1891 around five per cent of females aged 30, and around three per cent of males, were living with parents (or parent) and spouse, with or without children. Then a quick and sharp rise took place with the figure doubling by 1921 reaching around ten per cent and six per cent for females and males, respectively. This general feature can be seen throughout the 13 locales, but was especially marked in the northern industrial towns of Stoke and Bolton and the mining district of Earsdon and would appear to be related to an acute housing shortage in the early twentieth century period.[71] Clearly both these developments, a decline in non-familial living, and greater residence with parents post-marriage, go hand in hand with the observed rise in the age at leaving the parental home over this period.

Conclusions

Using three sets of census data covering a period from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century this article has applied a current-status model in an attempt to measure the timing and extent of departure from the parental home. In contrast to the work of Pooley and Turnball, the findings suggest that rather than a decrease in the age at leaving home, the period under investigation witnessed a gradual increase in the ages at which children left the parental home. Linked to this trend leaving home also become a more homogeneous experience over the period in question, with the pace of departure quickening. This was a gradual process for males, but was rather more concentrated in the early twentieth century in the case of females. As such, this period can be seen as a transition point between the 'traditional' and 'modern' patterns. Related to this development was a decline in non-familial residence, most notably with the contraction of domestic service for girls and boarding and lodging for boys. This coincided with a rise, especially in the early twentieth century, in post-marriage co-residence with parents. As a result it would appear that the period from the mid nineteenth century through to the early twentieth century increasingly witnessed a divergence between the experience of leaving the parental home and entry into the labour market. This transition in relation to the changing patterns of the timing of the entry into the work place is the focus of continuing research.

Acknowledgements

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I am grateful to Alice Reid of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure for running some of the initial tabulations on the 1891 to 1921 census material, and to Matthew Woollard of the Department of History, University of Essex for assistance in the preparation of the 1881 and 1851 material. Together with Tim Hatton and Eilidh Garrett, Matthew also provided helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

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Table 1 Size of selected counties for 1881

County	population	n. of households	Incorporating locales from 1891-1921 (see Table 2)
Devonshire	580,041	130,690	Axminster
Essex	554,345	119,320	Saffron Walden; Walthamstow
Staffordshire	971,124	194,555	Stoke
Westmorland	63,415	13,086	Morland
Totals	2,168,925	457,651	

Table 2 Size of locales, by census year

Locale	1891 population	n. of EDs	1901 population	n. of EDs	1911 population	n. of EDs	1921 population	n. of EDs	n. o sector
Abergavenny	9,012	18	7,786	16	8,286	14	8,198	15	
Axminster	4,867	10	4,814	7	5,178	7	5,863	8	
Banbury	8,207	10	8,188	9	8,227	8	8,037	7	
Bethnal Green	8,101	6	12,797	7	10,878	6	9,080	8	
Bolton	7,194	8	7,328	7	6,698	4	5,997	4	
Earsdon	3,726	4	5,232	5	5,583	4	5,875	5	
Morland	4,100	14	4,339	12	4,160	12	4,202	12	
Pinner	2,363	2	2,967	2	6,739	4	9,030	7	
Saffron Walden	5,726	11	5,021	11	5,165	9	4,775	9	
Stoke	6,645	5	7,253	7	12,368	7	12,920	8	
Swansea	9,490	7	9,030	9	9,177	5	9,229	7	
Walthamstow	5,799	4	10,950	7	12,391	7	11,884	7	
York	8,285	8	8,435	8	9,755	7	11,649	11	
Totals	83,515	107	94,140	107	104,605	94	106,739	108	5

Note: The names of the locales given in this table, and used subsequently in the text, refer to the Registration Districts in which the composite enumeration districts are recorded.

Figure 1a Male occupations, 1851-1921

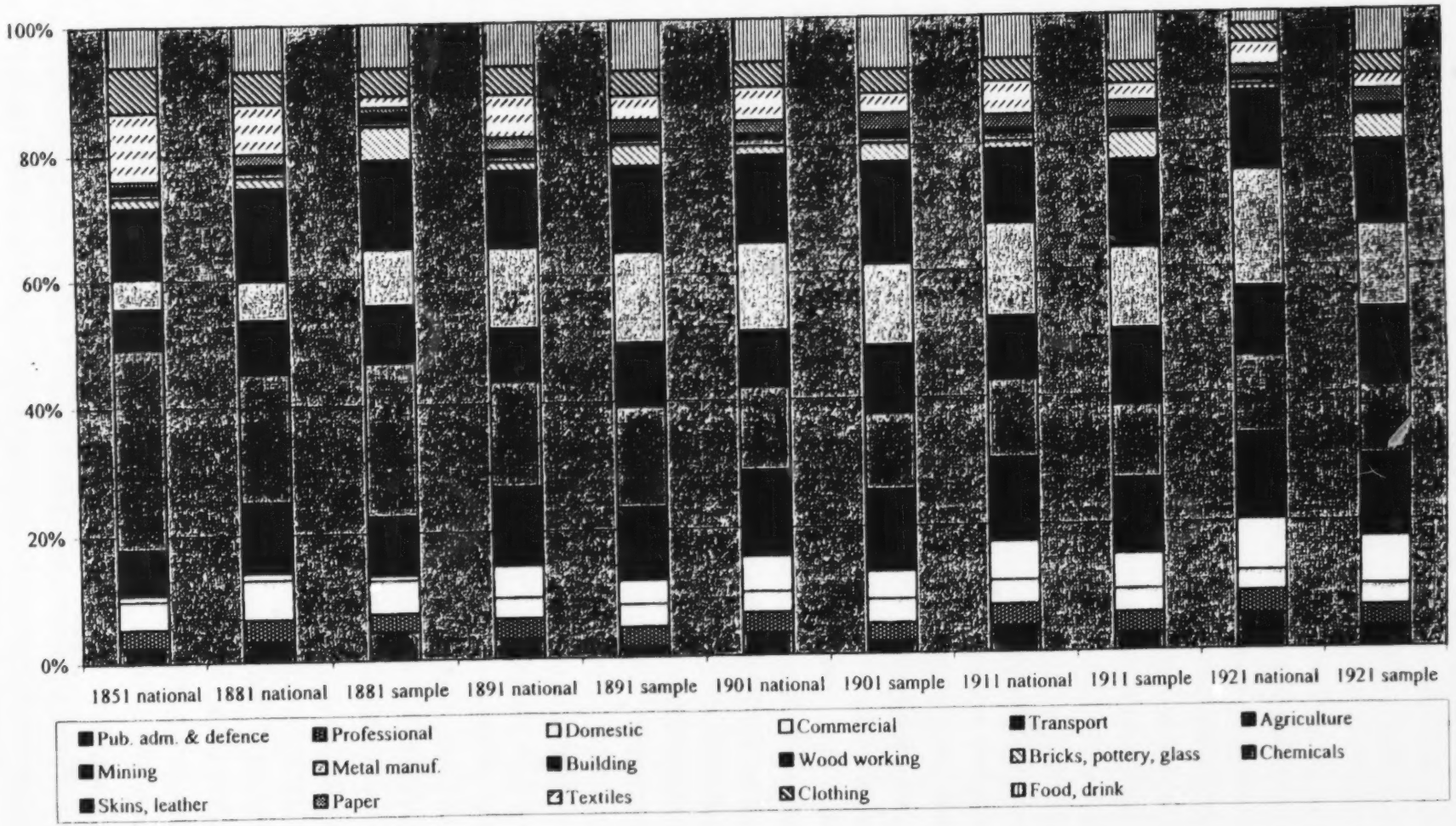

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Figure 1b Female occupations, 1851-1921

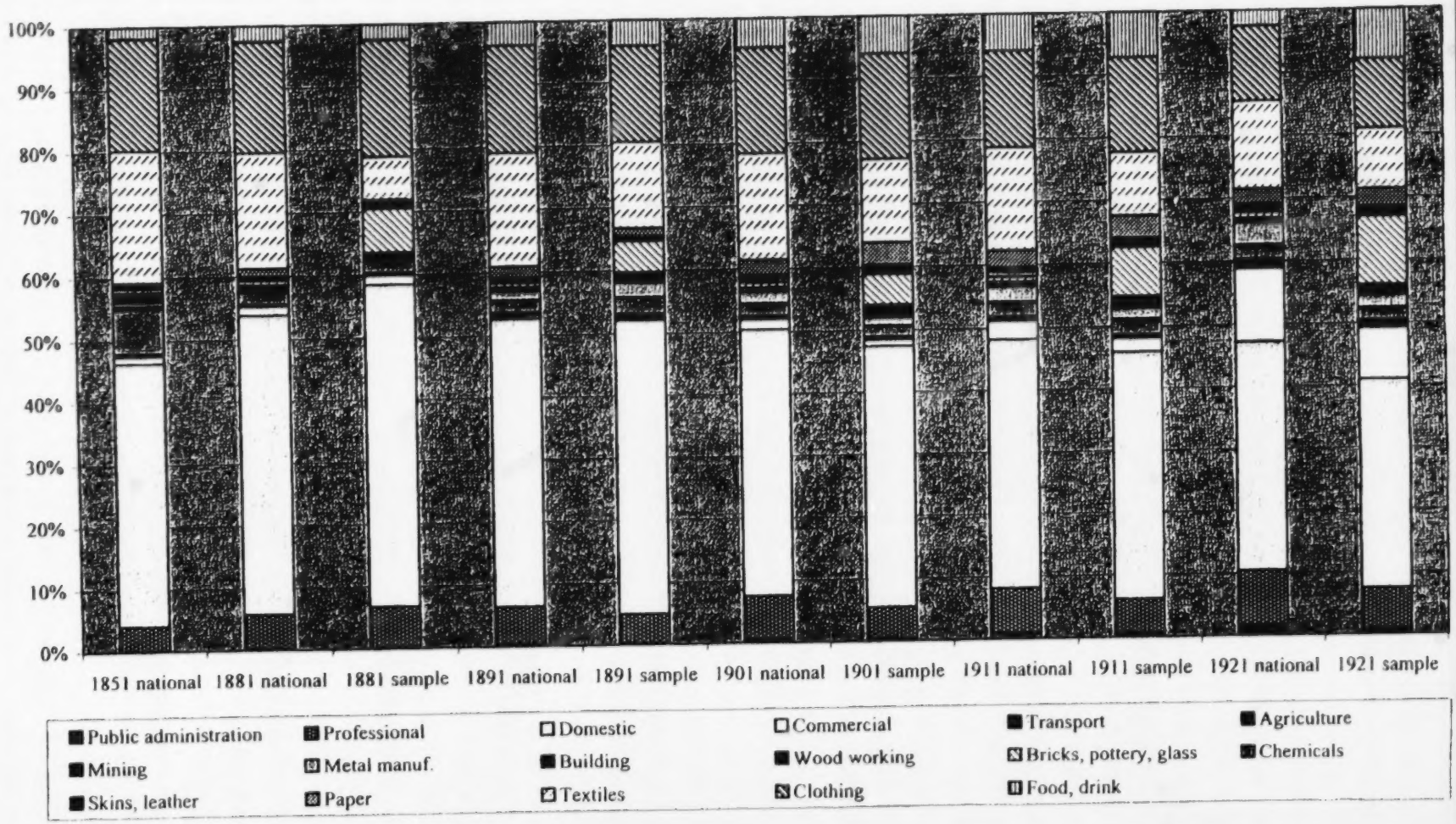

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Figure 2a **Proportions living with a parent and not living with a parent: males and females, 1851**

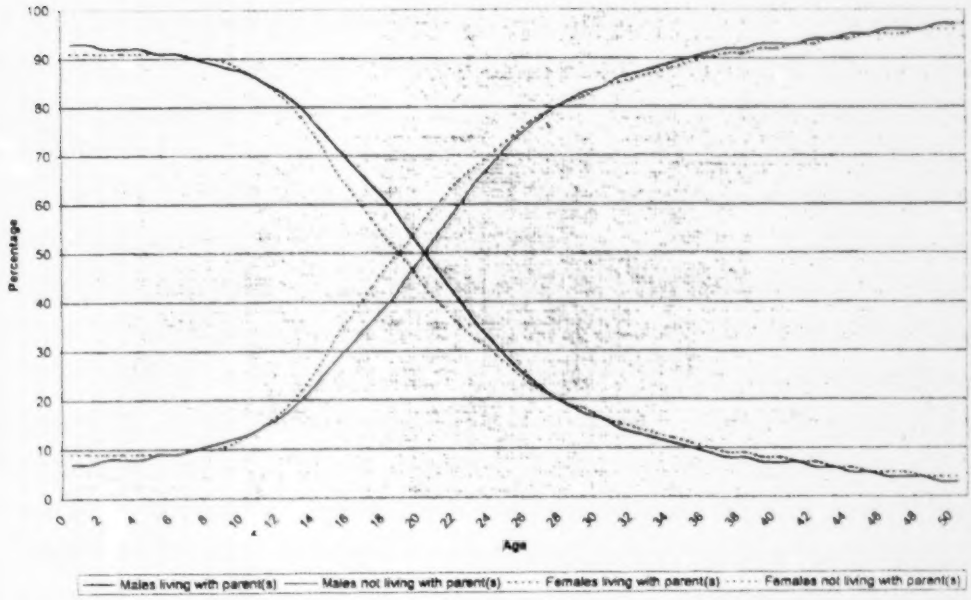

Figure 2b **Proportions living with a parent and not living with a parent: males and females, 1881**

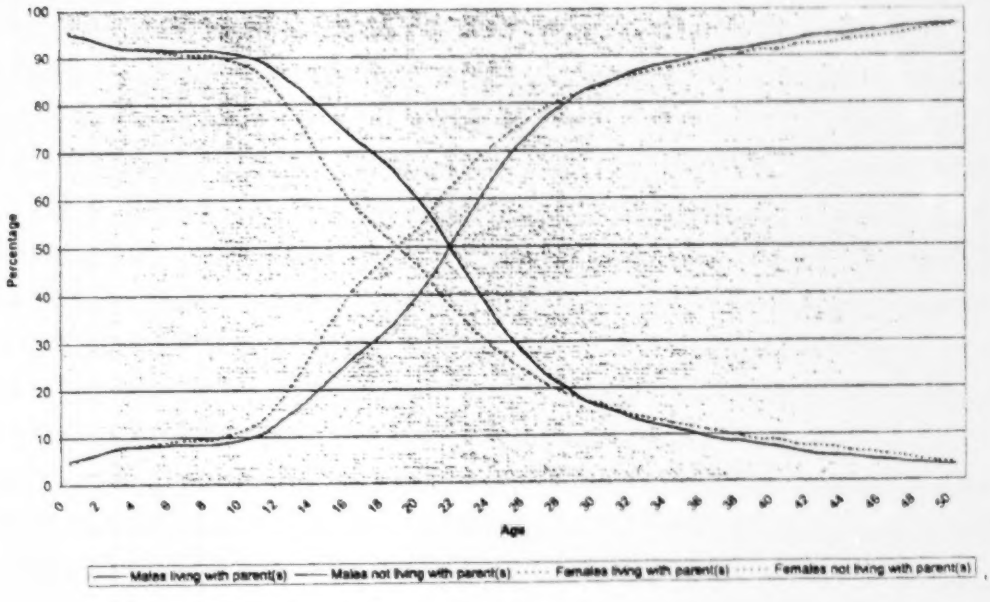

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Figure 2c Proportions living with a parent and not living with a parent: males and females, 1881

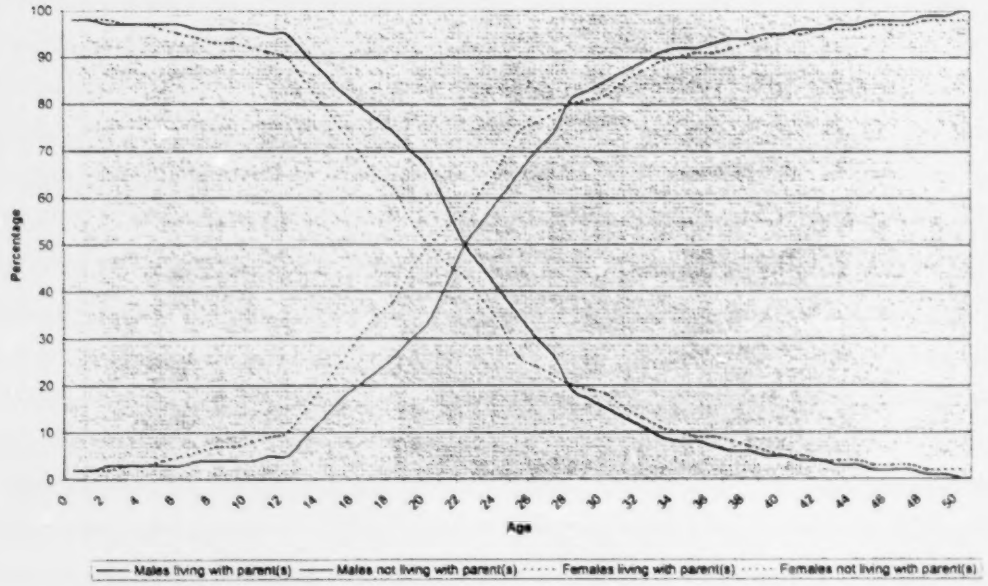

Figure 2d Proportions living with a parent and not living with a parent: males and females, 1891

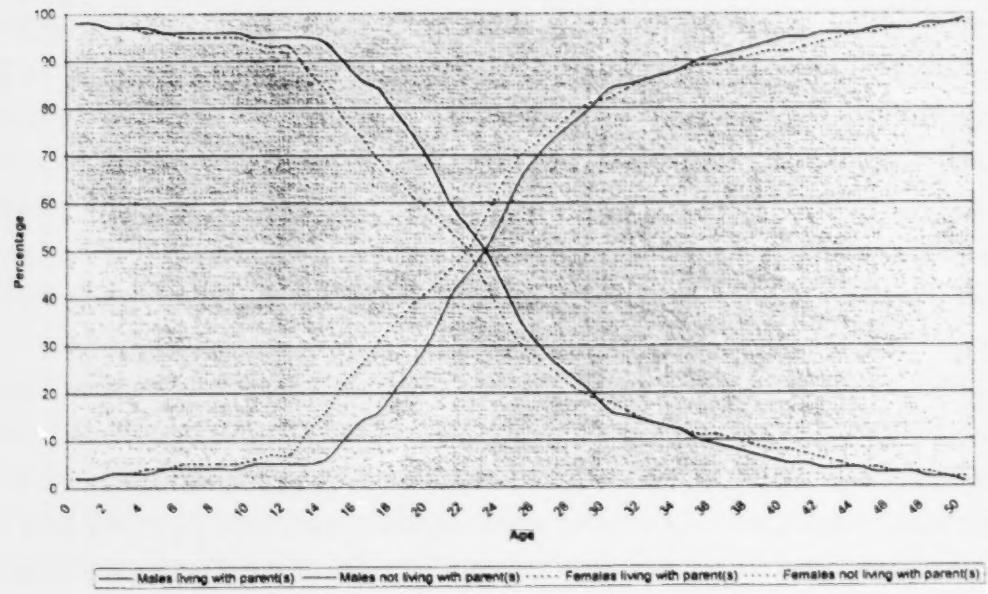

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Figure 2e Proportions living with a parent and not living with a parent: males and females, 1911

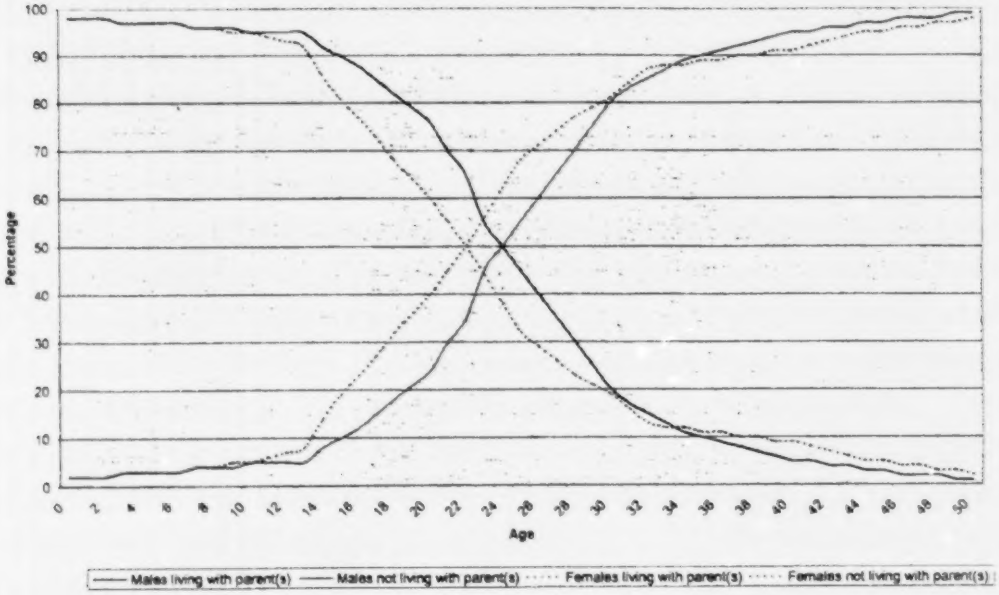

Figure 2f Proportions living with a parent and not living with a parent: males and females, 1921

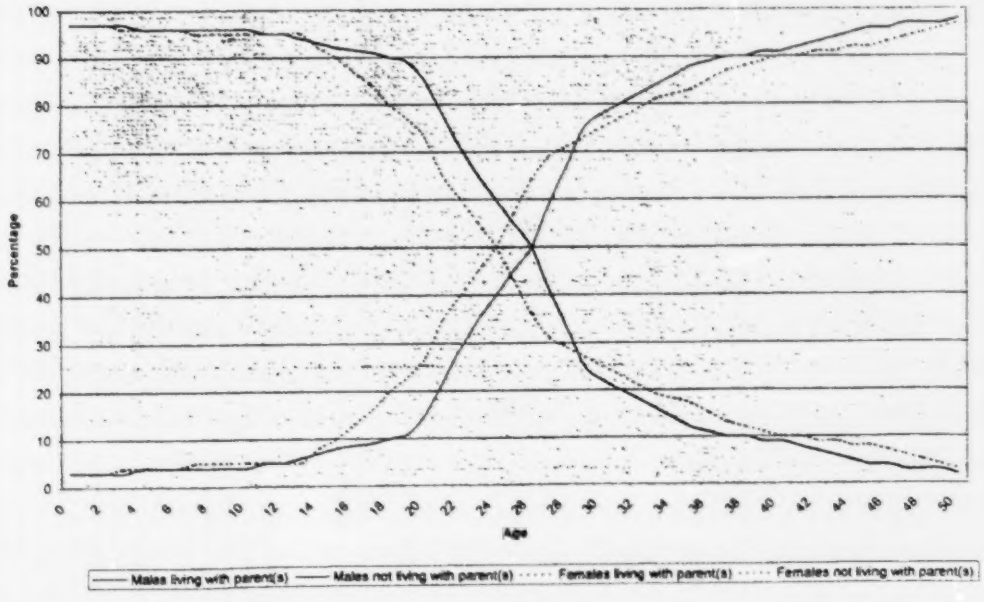

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Table 3 Estimated percentage of children losing parents by age and birth cohort

Percentage losing parent	Year of birth		
	1861	1891	1921
By age 10			
Mother	11	8	4
Father	11	9	5
Both	1	1	0
By age 15			
Mother	17	12	6
Father	17	14	8
Both	3	2	0
By age 25			
Mother	33	22	12
Father	29	26	16
Both	10	6	2
Median age at losing			
Mother	36	41	47
Father	35	37	41

Source: This table is based on M. Anderson, 'The social implications of demographic change', in F.M.L. Thompson, ed. *Cambridge Social History of Britain*, vol. 2, (Cambridge, 1989) Table 1.5.

Table 4 Parental survivalship, 1921

A) England and Wales

Age of child	Both alive	Father dead	Mother dead	Both dead	Not known/not stated
<15	88.7	7.0	2.5	0.5	1.3
0–4	94.7	2.9	1.0	0.1	1.3
5–9	88.0	7.9	2.5	0.5	1.1
10–14	84.0	9.7	3.9	0.9	1.5

B) 13 selected locales

Age of child	Both alive	Father dead	Mother dead	Both dead	Not known/not stated
<15	90.2	6.4	2.4	0.4	0.5
0–4	95.9	2.8	0.9	0.0	0.4
5–9	89.3	7.2	2.6	0.4	0.4
10–14	85.9	9.0	3.7	0.7	0.7

Note: Panel A is based on 1921 Census England and Wales, *Dependency, orphanhood and fertility*, (HMSO, London, 1925) Table 8, p.231.

Table 5 Singulate mean age at leaving home, by sex: 13 locales combined, 1851–1921

	1851	1881	1891	1901	1911
SMAL					
Females	16.6	17.0	17.8	18.7	19.2
Males	17.7	19.4	19.9	20.5	21.4
1st quartile (Q1)					
Females	13.5	13.6	14.5	15.5	16.6
Males	14.5	16.6	17.5	18.5	19.5
Crossover age					
Females	18.5	18.5	20.0	21.0	21.5
Males	20.0	21.7	22.5	22.5	23.5
3rd quartile (Q3)					
Females	25.5	24.9	26.0	27.0	28.0
Males	25.5	26.8	27.5	27.5	29.0
Age difference (Q1–Q3)					
Females	12.5	11.3	11.5	11.5	11.5
Males	11.0	10.2	10.0	9.0	9.5

Note: The 1st quartile denotes the point at which 25 per cent of the population was living outside the parental home; the crossover age (2nd quartile) the 50 per cent mark, and the 3rd quartile the 75% mark.

Table 6 SMALs by county and regions: England and Wales, 1851

Region and composite counties	SMAL Female	SMAL Males	Region and composite counties	SMAL Female	SMAL Males
London	**15.3**	**16.8**	**West Midlands**	**16.2**	**17.0**
Kent (London)	12.3	16.6	Herefordshire	14.9	17.8
Middlesex (London)	15.5	16.7	Shropshire	14.9	15.4
Surrey (London)	15.2	17.3	Gloucestershire	16.1	17.7
			Warwickshire	15.7	18.0
South East	**16.1**	**16.9**	Worcestershire	16.9	19.3
Berkshire	16.2	18.4	Staffordshire	16.6	17.3
Kent	17.5	18.7			
Surrey	15.1	15.4	**North Midlands**	**16.4**	**17.5**
Sussex	16.5	17.7	Derbyshire	17.3	14.4
Hampshire	15.8	17.4	Nottinghamshire	17.2	18.1
			Leicestershire	16.6	18.2
East	**16.6**	**17.7**	Lincolnshire	15.3	16.0
Essex	16.1	16.4	Rutland	16.9	20.2
Norfolk	17.5	19.7			
Suffolk	16.3	19.2	**North**	**16.3**	**17.2**
			Northumberland	16.3	17.5
South Midlands	**16.6**	**17.7**	Durham	15.7	17.9
Bedfordshire	16.2	19.1	Cumberland	16.8	18.2
Cambridgeshire	15.7	18.5	Westmorland	17.2	12.7
Huntingdonshire	17.6	17.5			
Hertfordshire	16.2	19.4	**North West**	**17.7**	**18.5**
Oxfordshire	15.7	18.4	Cheshire	17.0	17.7
Northamptonshire	18.5	19.2	Lancashire	17.8	18.7
Buckinghamshire	17.0	18.0			
Middlesex	17.3	14.3	**Yorkshire**	**17.8**	**18.6**
			Yorkshire (E. Riding)	14.4	13.9
South West	**17.0**	**18.3**	Yorkshire (N. Riding)	15.8	15.9
Cornwall	17.6	18.8	Yorkshire (W. Riding)	18.4	18.5
Devonshire	16.9	17.6			
Somerset	16.1	18.0	**Wales**	**16.9**	**18.1**
Wiltshire	17.4	20.3	South Wales	17.7	18.1
Dorset	19.0	20.1	North Wales	15.8	16.5
			Monmouthshire	16.5	18.1

Table 7 SMALs by individual county, 1881

County	SMAL Females	SMAL Males
Devonshire	16.1	18.2
Essex	16.8	19.5
Staffordshire	17.9	20.1
Westmorland	16.3	17.6

Table 8 Sex ratios among offspring aged 0-30 (no. of males per female)

	1891					
	Overall	10+	10-14	15-19	>20	D
Father						
Farmer	118	115	132	123	97	69
Ag. Lab.	113	137	97	202	176	63
Miner	119	137	103	134	265	80
Potter	121	137	114	138	209	79
Textiles	91	90	81	93	102	79
Professional	104	96	106	101	80	81
Trade	104	108	101	112	117	74
Mother						
Working	106	112	104	118	118	72
Potter	71	72	68	68	88	68
Textiles	112	119	134	98	125	73
Professional	102	99	130	61	117	85
Trade	94	95	95	94	99	85

	1901					
	Overall	10+	10-14	15-19	>20	D
Father						
Farmer	107	107	131	88	103	79
Ag. Lab.	116	138	105	187	161	64
Miner	118	137	112	134	199	77
Potter	109	110	119	103	107	77
Textiles	89	76	74	100	60	85
Professional	95	97	107	116	72	74
Trade	102	103	105	103	101	83
Mother						
Working	104	107	106	109	105	77
Potter	99	92	121	63	100	83
Textiles	94	83	94	77	72	67
Professional	104	103	114	100	82	105
Trade	93	87	97	79	83	91

Note: D = Index of 'Depletion' (offspring aged 15-19 as percentage of offspring aged 10-14)

Table 8 Continued.

	1911					
	Overall	10+	10-14	15-19	>20	D
Father						
Farmer	97	99	97	103	98	80
Ag. Lab.	128	153	84	209	300	67
Miner	109	118	101	116	163	81
Potter	103	109	112	104	112	91
Textiles	86	76	76	88	65	89
Professional	98	91	88	95	89	77
Trade	103	105	103	104	108	83
Mother						
Working	105	106	100	107	114	80
Potter	104	108	109	95	126	80
Textiles	99	99	118	109	68	96
Professional	90	82	87	75	83	97
Trade	102	97	102	99	90	88

	1921					
	Overall	10+	10-14	15-19	>20	D
Father						
Farmer	112	115	95	147	112	89
Ag. Lab.	134	166	132	206	190	70
Miner	111	118	110	115	135	88
Potter	99	100	99	89	120	100
Textiles	96	104	119	114	84	86
Professional	91	84	93	82	77	86
Trade	98	99	101	100	96	91
Mother						
Working	101	103	102	105	101	87
Potter	86	80	111	51	68	60
Textiles	92	94	68	95	190	66
Professional	74	71	96	47	77	104
Trade	91	90	100	84	84	81

D = Index of 'Depletion' (offspring aged 15-19 as percentage of offspring aged 10-14)

Table 9 Take-off, level and rates, 1851–1921

Year and sex	Age at take-off point	% living with parent(s) at take-off	Age at level point	% living with parent(s) at level	Rate of change between take-off and level	Years difference between take-off and level
1851	12	83	28	19	4.0	16
Males	12	82	27	21	4.0	15
Females						
1881						
Males	14	82	29	16	4.6	15
Females	12	82	27	20	4.2	15
1891						
Males	16	80	30	18	4.43	14
Females	12	86	28	22	4.00	16
1901						
Males	17	81	30	18	4.85	13
Females	12	89	28	22	4.19	16
1911						
Males	18	82	31	19	4.85	13
Females	13	88	29	22	4.13	16
1921						
Males	18	85	30	23	5.17	12
Females	17	78	29	27	4.25	12

Endnotes

[1] M. Ashford, *Life*. Cited in B. Hill, *Servants*, 191, 197.
[2] A. Kussmaul, *Joseph Mayett*, 1, 4. See also A. Kussmaul, *Servants*.
[3] B. Hill, *Servants*, 203–4.
[4] A. Kussmaul, *Joseph Mayett*, xi-xii, 5
[5] For a general survey see M. Mitterauer, 'Servants and youth'. For the importance of service to the socialisation of youth, see I. Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and youth*.
[6] J. Hajnal, 1983 article. For the link between household structures and demographic behaviour see R. M. Smith, 'Fertility, economy and household formation' and R. Schofield, 'Family structure'.
[7] P. Laslett, 'Mean household size', 152.
[8] G. Mayhew, 'Life-cycle service'.
[9] See, for example, P. Laslett, 'The institution of service'.
[10] P. Laslett, *The world we have lost*, 14.
[11] C. A. Sneyd, *True account*, 24.
[12] A. Macfarlane, *Ralph Josselin*, 93.
[13] A. Macfarlane, *Ralph Josselin*, 210.
[14] R. Schofield, 'Age-specific mobility', 265.
[15] R. Schofield, 'Age-specific mobility', 265. The figures for girls at home in these age groups were much higher, being, respectively, 71 and 48 per cent. This is accounted for by the considerable amount of employment available locally for women in both pillow-lace making and linen and jersey spinning. Schofield, 'Age-specific mobility', 264–6.
[16] R. Wall, 'Leaving home'.
[17] R. Wall, 'Leaving home', 91–2; quote from p. 91. This figure compares with the findings of Macfarlane, *Family life of Ralph Josselin*.
[18] R. Wall, 'Age at leaving home'.
[19] R. Wall, 'Age at leaving home', 200 (my emphasis).
[20] M. Anderson, *Family structure*, 125–6.
[21] R. Wall, 'Age at leaving home', 190, 192–3. This point is also made for mid-nineteenth-century Stoke-on-Trent, see Dupree, *Family structure*, 118–9.
[22] M. Anderson, 'Households, families and individuals', 433.
[23] This depletion rate is calculated by adjusting the figures given in Anderson, 'Households, families and individuals', Table 4, 434.
[24] Wall calculates the average number of servants in the population as being 13.8 per cent in the period 1650–1749, and 10.7 per cent in the period 1750–1821, compared to 7.1 per cent for rural areas and 3.1 per cent for urban areas in 1851. R. Wall, 'The household', 498. By 1871, Kussmaul estimates the proportion of males in farm service to be just 7.1 per cent. Kussmaul, *Servants in husbandry*. However, this decline in farm service was regionally uneven, with the counties of western and northern England displaying greater persistence in farm service. See, for example, Hinde, 'Household structure'.
[25] Mitterauer, *History of youth*, 74.
[26] Figures from the Family and Working Lives Survey, as reported in J. Pullinger and C. Summerfield, *Social focus on families*, 58. Those aged 65–69 in 1995 would have been born between 1926 and 1930 which means that would have been too young for military service during the second world war, most being aged between 10 and 15 at the end of the war. With the average ages reported, most of this cohort would have left the parental home in the early 1950s. It should be noted that this type of 'respective' evidence can suffer from problems, both due to recall errors and sampling bias. For further details see the discussion in J. Scott and D. Alwin, 'Retrospective vs prospective' and J. Gershuny and J. Brice, 'Looking backwards'.
[27] C. Pooley and J. Turnball, 'Leaving home'. The data were collected with the support of an award from the ESRC (R000234638). For a wider discussion of the data and the analysis undertaken, see C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and mobility*.
[28] C. Pooley and J. Turnball, 'Leaving home', 397–9.
[29] For background information on the content of census enumerators' books and their use in historical research see D. Mills and K. Schürer, *Local communities*; E. A. Wrigley, *Nineteenth-century society*; E. Higgs, *Clearer sense* and R. Lawton, *Census and social structure*.
[30] For details of the project that created this dataset see M. Anderson , B. Collins, B. and J. C. Stott, 'The national sample from the 1851 census'; M. Anderson, B. Collins and J. C. Stott, 'Preparation and analysis of a

machine-readable national sample'; and M. Anderson, 'National sample'. The data are available as M. Anderson *et al, National sample* [computer file].

[31] Details of the project can be found in M. Woollard, 'Creating a machine-readable version of the 1881 census' and S. C. Young, 'The British 1881 census project'. The initial work on this dataset carried out in the Department of History, University of Essex was supported by a grant from the Leverhulme Trust (F213/R)

[32] See K. Schürer, 'The nineteenth-century censuses collection' and M. Woollard, *The classification of occupations in the 1881 census*.

[33] The Census Statistical Office (CSO) and the Office for Population, Censuses and Surveys (OPCS) merged to form the Office for National Statistics (ONS) in 1 April 1996.

[34] The data were made available with the assistance of an award from the ESRC (award G00232261). For further details of these data see E. Garrett, A. Reid, K. Schürer and S. Srezter, *Population change in context*.

[35] Further details of each of the locales within the selection are given in E. Garrett *et al, Population change in context*, chapter 2, section 3.

[36] The rationale for the selection of the 1891-1921 census data is further explained in E. Garrett *et al, Population change in context*, chapter 2, section 2.

[37] Comparing marital status by age, the combined dataset is significantly different at the 5% level for females in the age groups 20-24, 65+ (1891); 20-24, 75-84, 85+ (1901); 20-24, 25-34, 65-74, 85+ (1911); 20-24, 45-54, 75-84, 85+ (1921). Males display a similar pattern.

[38] Basically, 'institutions' included workhouses, hospitals, prisons, schools, as well as ships at sea and army barracks. However, the definition of an 'institution' was far from clear, see Higgs, *Clearer sense*, 35–7.

[39] These histograms have been constructed excluding the 'Others employed' category. This category is consistently over represented in the data for the 13 locales as a result of certain occupational titles not being able to be allocated to their 'proper' category without recourse to the original returns, which were not available for consultation.

[40] Using the Kolmogrov-Smirnov two-sample test for distributions, the occupational distribution for males for the combined 13 locales shows no significant difference to the national distribution at the 1% level for 1891 and 1921. The female occupational distributions for females are significantly different at the 5% level in all four years.

[41] E. G. Ravenstein, 'Laws of migration'. A useful (but now somewhat dated) review of work on migration is given in D. B. Grigg, 'E. G. Ravenstein'; see also the overview given by W. T. R. Pryce, 'A migration typology'. Further details of research on migration using the census enumerators' books can be gained from Mills and Pearce, *People and places*.

[42] M. Anderson, 'Social implications'.

[43] For an introduction of trends in mortality in this period see R. Woods and N. Shelton, *Atlas of Victorian mortality*, and R. Woods, *Population of Britain*.

[44] Z. Zhao, 'The demographic transition in Victorian England'.

[45] Z. Zhao, 'The demographic transition in Victorian England', 254.

[46] Z. Zhao, 'The demographic transition in Victorian England', 259.

[47] Z. Zhao, 'The demographic transition in Victorian England', 257.

[48] See J. Hajnal, 'Age at marriage' and the extension of this work, J. Hajnal, 'European marriage patterns'.

[49] For the application of SMAMs in historical research see, for example, R. Woods and P. R. A. Hinde, 'Nuptuality'; M. Anderson, 'Marriage patterns'.

[50] A similar, yet less developed approach to measuring departure from the parental home can be found in Stevens, 'New evidence'.

[51] Details of this calculation are given in the appendix to J. Hajnal, 'Age at marriage'. For a worked example, see K. Schürer, 'A note'.

[52] T. Guinnane, 'Age at leaving home'.

[53] See, for example, the discussion in I. D. Diamond and J. M. McDonald, 'Analysis of current-status data'. I am indebted to J. Oeppen for this reference. See also the comments in T. Guinnane, 'Age at leaving home', 655.

[54] C. Pooley and J. Turnball, 'Leaving home'.

[55] For a discussion on this point see C. Pooley and J. Turnball, 'Leaving home', 395–7.

[56] R. Wall, 'Age at leaving home'. For the contemporary period see, for example, K. Kiernan, 'Leaving home' and C. Young, *Young people leaving home*.

[57] See M. Young and P. Willmot, *Family and kinship*; G. Stedman-Jones, *Outcast London*; W. Besant, *East London*.

[58] D. Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*.

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[59] J. D. Marshall and J. K. Walton, *The Lake counties*.
[60] The data for this locale does not include the town of Saffron Walden, only those agricultural parishes that surround it.
[61] See *Victoria History ... of Essex*, vol. 6.
[62] This trend is also noted in M. Anderson, *Family structure*, 40.
[63] It has been suggested that due to a combination of high adult male mortality and earning potentials peaking at a relatively early age, children were a 'kind of life insurance' for miners. D. Friedlander, 'Demographic patterns', 51. However, this has been challenged by D. Tonks, 'Coal miners'. Szreter also claims that miner's wages did not peak early in comparison with other occupations, and it was rather the general and rising prosperity of miners that explained their high fertility. Szreter, *Fertility, class and gender*, 359.
[64] See R. Wall, 'Leaving home', 96–7; R. Wall, 'Age at leaving home', 195–6; Pooley and Turnball, 'Leaving home', 400, 404–5.
[65] R. Wall, 'Age at leaving home', 200; R. Wall, 'Leaving home and living alone', 385.
[66] Pooley and Turnball, 'Leaving home'.
[67] See, for example, the figures presented in G. Sundström, 'A haven in a heartless world?' and K. Kiernan, 'Leaving home'.
[68] Pooling all sectors together regardless of type produces standard deviations for the SMALs of 1.53 and 1.86 for males and 1.77 and 2.46 for females in 1891 and 1921 respectively. Removing the agricultural sectors reduces the standard deviations to 1.06 and 0.72 (males) and 1.97 and 1.65 (females). Removing both the agricultural sectors and the professional sectors reduces the standard deviations further to 0.96 and 0.64 (males) and 1.35 and 1.03 (females).
[69] M. Anderson, *Family structure*, 126; R. Wall, 'Leaving home', 93–4.
[70] See, for example, summary details in R. Wall, 'The household'.
[71] This shift in residential patterns with a tendency towards greater co-residence within the family is the subject of a separate paper in the course of preparation.

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